

Message Text

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ACTION L-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 PM-03 SP-02 H-01

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O R 271437Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8229

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 166

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FI, VS

SUBJECT: GOF MAY SUPPORT PRG PARTICIPATION IN LAW OF WAR
CONFERENCE

REF: HELSINKI 2491, 133.

1. SUMMARY: MFA POLITICAL DEPT. CHIEF MATTI TUOVINEN
TODAY INDICATED THAT, ALTHOUGH NO DECISION YET MADE,
GOF MAY BE SUCCUMBING TO INTERNAL PRESSURE AND EXAMPLE
OF OTHERS ON QUESTION OF PRG PARTICIPATION IN INTER-
NATIONAL CONFERENCES SUCH AS UPCOMING LOW CONFERENCE.
GOF MAY BE READY ABANDON TRADITIONAL POSITION OF
ABSTAINING ON QUESTION OF PRG PARTICIPATION AND MAY VOTE
IN FAVOR. TUOVINEN IN EFFECT SIGNALLED US THAT US
SHOULD MAKE HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS URGENTLY
IF WE WANT ATTEMPT HEAD OFF THIS SHIFT. ACTION
REQUESTED: EMBASSY STRONGLY URGES DEPT. CALL
IN FINNISH AMB. TUOMINEN IN WASHINGTON ON HIGHEST
POSSIBLE LEVEL TO MAKE CRYSTAL CLEAR TO FINNS ALSO
IN WASHINGTON GREAT IMPORTANCE USG ATTACHES TO
QUESTION. TUOMINEN SCHEDULED DEPART US FOR FINLAND
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ON DC-10 DELIVERY FLIGHT FEBRUARY 4. EMBASSY ALSO

REQUESTS DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS ON INTENSITY AND LEVEL OF OFFICIAL DEMARCHE THAT EMBASSY SHOULD IN DEPT'S JUDGMENT MAKE HERE WITH ANY OR ALL OF FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN, PRIME MINISTER SORSA, AND PRESIDENT KEKKONEN. END SUMMARY

2. AMBASSADOR TODAY HAD DISCUSSION WITH MFA POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF TUOVINEN TO REPORT ON WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS. MEETING ALSO ATTENDED BY TUOVINEN'S IMMEDIATE DEPUTY, KLAUS TORNUDD FROM MFA, AND DCM AND POLOFF FROM EMBASSY.

3. US POINTS RE PRG: DURING MEETING EMBASSY GROUP RAISED QUESTION OF PRG WITH TUOVINEN AND TORNUDD. AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED GREAT IMPORTANCE USG ATTACHES TO QUESTION AND MADE SEVERAL BASIC ARGUMENTS CLEARLY INDICATING THAT PRG IN NO WAY CAN BE CONSIDERED A GOVERNMENT.

4. DCM TOLD TUOVINEN HE SAW PROBLEM COMING UP IN US-FINNISH RELATIONS OVER PRG ISSUE. HE FEARED GOF MIGHT YIELD TO PRESSURE OF CERTAIN GROUPS WHO WERE URGING THAT FINLAND SUPPORT INCLUSION PRG IN LOW CONFERENCE AS FIRST STEP TOWARDS FINNISH RECOGNITION PRG AS GOVERNMENT.

5. DCM SAID MAJOR CAUSE FOR ANY US UNEASE ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH FINLAND WAS FINNISH DEVIATION FROM OWN PRINCIPLES OF STAYING OUT OF BIG POWER QUARRELS AND ACTING AS EVEN-HANDED NEUTRAL. USG CONSIDERED PREVIOUS GOF RECOGNITION OF HANOI BUT NOT SAIGON AS SERIOUS DEVIATION THESE PRINCIPLES, BUT UPGRADING OF PRG WOULD BE EVEN MORE SERIOUS.

6. PRG WAS NOT A GENUINE GOVERNMENT, BUT A CREATION OF MILITARY POWER OF NORTH VIETNAM. FINLAND SHOULD KNOW FROM ITS OWN EXPERIENCE WHAT IT IS LIKE TO HAVE A STRONG NEIGHBOR CREATE A SHAM "REGIME" IN OPPOSITION TO ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT (TERIJOKI "GOVERNMENT" SET UP BY USSR IN 1939).

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7. GOF SHOULD ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FACT THAT THOSE ELEMENTS IN FINLAND URGING THAT GOF UPGRADE RELATIONS WITH PRG ARE NOT INTERESTED IN CREDIBILITY OF FINNISH NEUTRALITY AND PROBABLY HAVE ULTERIOR AIM OF USING PRG ISSUE TO UNDERMINE THAT NEUTRALITY.

8. DCM SAID ALSO CLEAR THAT PRG EFFORTS TO BE AD-

MITTED TO LOW CONFERENCE WERE NOT RESULT OF PRG DESIRE TO HELP MAKE WAR MORE HUMANE, BUT OF DESIRE ENHANCE POLITICAL STATUS.

9. POLOFF REMINDED TUOVINEN THAT EMBASSY HAD REQUESTED, BOTH IN AMBASSADOR-KARJALAINEN AND CLEMENT-KAHILUOTO DISCUSSIONS, OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE MATTER TO THE HIGHEST FINNISH POLITICAL LEVEL, IF NEEDED, BEFORE A FINAL DECISION WAS MADE BY GOF.

10. FINNISH POINTS: TUOVINEN SAID THAT, FIRST OF ALL, NO DECISION HAD BEEN MADE YET BY GOF. HE ADDED THAT A DECISION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE LOW CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 3. TUOVINEN FURTHER STATED THAT NO FINAL DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN AT THE JANUARY 28 MFA UN AFFAIRS CHIEFS MEETING IN STOCKHOLM.

11. TUOVINEN SAID THAT NO CONSIDERATION WAS BEING GIVEN WITHIN GOF AT THIS TIME TO RECOGNITION OF PRG AS GOVERNMENT. AS TO QUESTION OF GOF RAISING STATUS OF PRG INFORMATION OFFICE IN HELSINKI, TUOVINEN SAID SUCH HAD BEEN REQUESTED SOME TIME AGO AND HAD BEEN UNDER "CONSIDERATION" FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT THAT FINAL DECISION WOULD VERY MUCH DEPEND ON WHAT OUTCOME WAS OF FINNISH POSITION ON PRG ATTENDANCE AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

12. TUOVINEN THEN STATED THAT MFA AND GOF WELL AWARE OF VARIOUS REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY EMBASSY ON MATTER, INCLUDING CLEMENT-KAHILUOTO DISCUSSION JANUARY 22 AND THAT, IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST THAT EMBASSY BE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TAKE UP MATTER ON HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL, IF NEEDED, HE WAS IN EFFECT TELLING US THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO DO IT, IF THIS WAS WHAT WE WANTED TO DO.
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13. TUOVINEN ADMITTED THAT MFA AND GOF WERE UNDER CONSIDERABLE DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON MATTER, AND POINTED OUT THAT PRESSURE CAME NOT ONLY FROM COMMUNISTS, BUT ALSO FROM SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND CENTER PARTY ELEMENTS.

14. TUOVINEN SAID THAT SINCE FINLAND RECOGNIZES NEITHER GVN NOR PRG, GOF HARD PUT TO DEFEND POSITION THAT GVN SHOULD BE ALLOWED PARTICIPATE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, BUT NOT PRG.

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ACTION L-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 PM-03 SP-02 H-01

INR-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 RSC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8230

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HELSINKI 166

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15. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION OF HOW SITUATION HAD CHANGED FROM THAT OF LAST YEAR, WHEN FINLAND ABSTAINED ON PRG PARTICIPATION AT LOW CONFERENCE, TUOVINEN SAID THAT LAST YEAR PRG WAS KEPT OUT BY MAJORITY OF ONLY ONE VOTE. HE ADDED THAT SINCE THEN IT HAD BECOME CLEAR AT UNGA THAT AFRO-ASIAN BLOC TOGETHER WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES COULD MUSTER MAJORITY ON ANY ISSUE. (BY IMPLICATION TUOVINEN WAS SAYING THAT FINLAND WAS STARTING TO FEEL RATHER LONELY AND SOMEWHAT UNCOMFORTABLE AS A CONSTANT MEMBER OF THE MINORITY AT THE UN).

16. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR TO US THAT TUOVINEN WAS SIGNALLING US THAT ONLY HOPE OF KEEPING GOF FROM SUC- CUMBING TO DOMESTIC PRESSURE AND EXAMPLE OF OTHERS (SUCH AS SWEDEN) LIES WITH STRONG REPRESENTATIONS ON HIGHEST LEVELS. THE QUESTION IS DEFINITELY BY NOW A POLITICAL ONE, OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE MFA, AND WILL EITHER BE DECIDED BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC-LED COALITION GOVERNMENT AND/OR PRESIDENT KEKKONEN. IF SWEDEN SHOULD DECIDE IN FAVOR OF PRG, THE COMBINATION OF DOMESTIC FINNISH PRESSURE AND NOT WANTING TO BE FOUND
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"WEST" OF SWEDEN MAY PROVE IRRESISTIBLE. IN ANY CASE, NOW IS LIKELY TO BE LAST OPPORTUNITY USG WILL HAVE TO TRY TO SWAY GOF FROM APPARENT PATH OF SWITCHING TO PRG PARTICIPATION AT LOW CONFERENCE. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT SHOULD GOF DECIDE TAKE THIS STEP, WE CAN EXPECT IT TO CONSISTENTLY FAVOR PRG PARTICIPATION AT ALL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. WE CAN THEN ALSO EXPECT GOF TO RAISE STATUS OF PRG INFORMATION OFFICE IN HELSINKI.

17. ACTION REQUESTED: EMBASSY STRONGLY URGES DEPT. TO CALL IN URGENTLY FINNISH AMBASSADOR TUOMINEN IN WASHINGTON ON HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL TO MAKE CRYSTAL CLEAR TO FINNS ALSO IN WASHINGTON THE GREAT IMPORTANCE USG ATTACHES TO QUESTION. WE ARE TOLD THAT TUOMINEN WILL DEPART US FOR FINLAND ON FEBRUARY 4 DC-10 DELIVERY FLIGHT.

18. EMBASSY ALSO REQUESTS DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS ON INTENSITY AND LEVEL OF OFFICIAL DEMARCHE THAT EMBASSY SHOULD IN DEPT'S JUDGMENT MAKE HERE WITH ANY OR ALL OF FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN, PRIME MINISTER SORSA, AND PRESIDENT KEKKONEN. KARJALAINEN ALONE MAY NOT BE ENOUGH SINCE HE AND HIS CENTER PARTY MAY NOT FEEL STRONG ENOUGH TO REALLY FIGHT MATTER IN COALITION GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD PROBABLY BE IMPORTANT TO REACH PRIME MINISTER SORSA, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHAIRMAN PAASIO. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE MOST LIKELY THE MAJOR COALITION PARTNER FAVORING UPGRADING PRG. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT KEKKONEN MAY TRY TO LET THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TAKE BOTH THE CREDIT AND BLAME FOR A PRO-PRG SWITCH, UNLESS FORCED TO MAKE THE DECISION HIMSELF. KREHBIEL

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